

International Relations, an Essay

23rd March 2014, Major Aamir Cheema

International relations is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word....it is not a single subject but a blend of subjects, law, history, economics, political science and geography.¹ Theory, is derived from Greek 'to look out' at, or 'to watch'.² There are many theories of International relations but broadly they can be classified as Normal or Normative Theory, the Realist Theory given by Morgenthau in 1952 describes 'interest as power' which in this means national interest but it is equally difficult to describe what national interest stands for, Morgenthau, himself goes to explain that National Interest has two elements, one that is logically required and in that sense necessary and the one that is variable and determined by circumstances.³

Realism. The notion of realism refers to a tradition of thought within the area of International Relation theory, credit is given to Hans Morgenthau 'states of the world exist in an anarchical and rather hostile international environment. In order to survive and prosper in such an environment, it is in the best interest of state to develop and expand its power as best it can'.⁴

Pacifism. War is never justified from a moral point of view, it lies in the work of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam {1466 -1536}, he wrote *The Complaint of Peace*, argued that Christians ought never make war among each other neither on infidels, however in his *Instructions to a Christian Prince*, he concedes that there may be occasions when war against infidels is justified.⁵

Terms

Influence. Ability of one actor to alter the preference and behaviour of another actor without use of violence.

Authority. Capacity to command obedience without compulsion or threat of coercion.

Power. Most common form of coercive influence, ability to determine outcome, ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome obstacles. 'power' is based upon perception. It can be classified as meta power, soft power and hard power. Elements of power are potential power and actual power. Tangibles in a power are population, territory, natural resources, military capacity. **Balance of Power Theory**; states, 'peace and global stability are best achieved through and maintained through a fundamental equilibrium of power among actors'.⁶ **Hegemonic Power Theory** contests this by stating that world peace and economic prosperity are a by-product of a hegemonic ally imposed structure.

Force. Implicit or explicit use, or threat of use, the most violent and costly method of bringing about political influence, because it depends upon military and political power to achieve

¹ N.D. Palmer & H.C. Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-XII.

² Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1968} p-43

³ Stanley Hoffman, ed, *Contemporary Theory in International Relations* {Prentice, New Jersey, 1960} p,32, 73.

⁴ *The Morality of War, A Reader*. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L. Carr {Viva, Delhi, 2008, Indian Edition} p.13

⁵ *The Morality of War, A Reader*. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L. Carr {Viva, Delhi, 2008, Indian Edition} p.33.

⁶ Mark Armstutz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {McGraw Hill, London, 1999}, p-142.

goals . Collective security. Seek to deter aggression by promising collective retaliation against any community members being aggressed.

Empirical. It stands for factual

Normative. It stands for value

Ethics. Critical analysis of moral values and their application. Word ethic is derived from Greek word ethos, thus ethics is the examination, justification and critical analysis of morality. Political morality revolves around impartiality, self enforcing and universal . human actions are thus judged upon morality, legality and voluntary. Moral scepticism, Prudence and communitarianism are all ethical traditions. **Prudence.** Practical wisdom, virtue of selecting and implementing policies in the light of alternative moral action 'practical judgement over moral values'.

Communitarianism. A tradition that assumes that states are morally legitimate and subject to widely accepted legal and moral norms known as common morality. The political behaviour of states should be guided and judged by norms of International Morality.

Consequentialism. Ethical behaviour must be judged primarily by outcomes. Greatest good for the greatest number of people.

Moral Absolutism. An ethical tradition that insists on strict adherence to moral rules regardless of consequences. **Moral Scepticism.** Belief that moral principles do not apply direct to international relations. Vocabulary of morals and ethics is inadequate to discuss or test foreign policies of a state, remarked Dean Acheson.⁷ **Moralism,** when problems are over simplified and when moral values are applied as if issue were either good or bad. **Morality** word comes from Latin 'mores' meaning customs and common usage based upon shared values, value of right and wrong, good and bad.

Cosmopolitanism. An ethical tradition that assumes that persons, not states are morally significant in global society, Humanitarian invention is thus morally permissible.

Doctrine of Cultural Relativism. Belief that since world is composed of many different cultures with its own moral norms, there is no universal binding morality.

Foreign policy. Explicit or implicit actions of a governmental institutions officials designated to promote national interest beyond a country's territorial boundaries. Foreign policy must start with security, remarked Kissinger. Decision making process in foreign policy is either based upon Rational Actor Model or Organisational Power Model. President Musharraf when pledged the support of Pakistan and its resources to America after 9/11, it was rational actor model; however when Pakistan sent its troops to Gulf war in 1990, then it was Organisational Process Model. Bureaucratic bargaining model is another model but it is not exclusive for foreign policy, in it various governmental organisation bargain among themselves.

Belief system. A collection of core values, beliefs and images that make up an individual's world view.

Cognitive Dissonance. Psychological conflict between existing beliefs and newly acquired information.

Misperception. Distortions of reality caused by such factors as humans biases, personal values and ideological presupposition.

⁷ Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-163.

Geopolitics. The field that examines the inter relationship of geography, national power and foreign policy. One can add history because geography is history in motion.

Democratic peace thesis. Democracies or democratic nations do not fight against each other.

International Justice is based upon procedural justice which requires strict and impartial adherence to rules and procedures. Distributive justice on the other hand is associated with the achievement of a particular outcome, it requires fair and equitable distribution of goods and resources.

International Law. It is the law among the states and not over them, name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilised states in their intercourse with each other'. There are three school of thoughts among international law, one is naturalist {Grotius} , second is Positivist and third is a group which adheres to both groups.

Republic . Man by nature is timid and peaceful and at the least danger his first reaction is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. Honour, interest, prejudice, and vengeance all those passions which make him brave. **Aristotle** kept the war separate from political philosophy, **Plato** declares that military science and theory of warfare form a part of art of citizenship referring here to skill in the use of arms⁸. Plato was born in Athens, he was student of Socrates and teacher of Aristotle, his classical work is Republic, which is the base of morality and everything related to it. Morality to Plato was a key factor of the human life and the debate about what is good and what is bad starts from here, Plato did not reached any conclusion in his dialogues other than that morality is something which only an individual can judge what is wrong and what is right. ' Since it is the expressed opinion that morality is one of those paramount good things which are worth having not just for the consequences but also and especially for themselves... so it is not enough just to demonstrate that morality is better than immorality, show us why one of them, in and of itself makes anyone who possess it good'.⁹ For Plato the education was the most important thing, at that time the children were imparted physical and cultural studies at Athens and in Plato's view the cultural education takes precedence over physical

History is paramount in understanding the warfare, its causes are numerable, ranging from self-defence, defence of property to ideologies; although certain thinkers tend to differ for instance **Hugo Grotius** {1583-1645} considers those wars as just which are undertaken against those who have committed sin against the nature¹⁰ on the other hand . Grotius is regarded as father of international law, he wrote 'On the laws of war and peace ' in 1625. He stressed upon that states should be treated as individuals and he accepted 'natural Law' as 'right reason' as the primary basis for determining rules for the rightful conduct of state; he argued for freedom of seas.

Alberto Gentili {1552-1608} is of the opinion that religion is an individual matter and as such religious wars cannot be justified. Gentili also saw international affairs from a secular point of view instead of religious, ' Let theologians keep silent about matters outside their province'. Gentili wrote about 'International Law as applied to War', he primarily contends that no previous law on warfare has been given earlier thus there is a need to have them. The main issue is that all participants waging a war considers themselves justified, thus it is difficult to lay the blame on any one individual for waging the war. This simple equation becomes monstrous when religion is included as the main cause of waging war, whereas for non-religious issues the way out or compromise can be made by highlighting the logic but even the logic fails in matter of religion. Whether it is just to wage war for the sake of religion? remains the cardinal point of Gentili and he gives his judgement as religion being an individual act and as such cannot be justified as the just cause of waging war. Hugo Grotius differ on the ground as ' Not on grounds of right in battle formed but rather with the sword do men seek to enforce their claim'. And his classic is 'when I am in arms , am I to think of laws'. Grotius

⁸ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p - 18

⁹ Plato *Republic*, a new translation by Robert Waterfield, { Barnes & Noble, NY, 1993},p-56

¹⁰ Ibid, p-73.

was of the opinion that history is important in understanding the laws of nature¹¹, as it supplied both illustration as well as the judgement. The legality of war in his opinion was based upon its justification ‘those wars are unjustified which are taken without any cause’ and as regarding the causes, he differs not from the logic ‘first, defence of self and property’.

Another philosophical view as expressed by **Emmerich De Vattel**¹² {1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that ‘*regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides*’ and second principles govern *whatever is permitted to one because of the state of war is also permissible to the other*¹³. Laws of nation is a famous work of Vattel and it has following segments, the natural law, the law taught by nature to all animals. Civil law is the one which is established by the people themselves and lastly Laws of nation which are laws established by nations. Vattel observation is made upon the Roman’s *Ingentium* which were given by Emperor Justinian. Hobbs also contemplated on the issue and agreed that ‘natural law for men and natural law for nation’ principals of both are same. Since nations are composed of men who are by nature free and independent and who before the establishment of civil society lived together in the state of nature, such nations or sovereign states must be regarded as so many free persons living together in the state of nature.¹⁴

Danger and death are results of state of nature, there is no war between the man it is only between the states¹⁵ wrote **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** {1712-1778, he also author social contract}. Man by nature was peaceful and timid to him, at the least danger, his first action is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. However interest, prejudice, and vengeance all these passions which make him brave danger and death are remote from him in the state of nature¹⁶

State & Nation

State is defined as ‘a body of people occupying a definite territory and political organised under one government’¹⁷. Elements that make a state includes an idea, culture, history and ideology. Physical elements and institutions. State can be classified as **strong, weak, failed, coherent, and multinational, multi-state** state depending upon the legitimacy, capacity, writ, civic services and political institutions.

Whereas **nation** is defined as ‘any aggregation of people having like institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interest’. **Ernest Renan** stated in 1882 that that it is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation. ‘It is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past, the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation’.¹⁸ Nationalism is a belief that world’s people are divided into nations and that each of these nations has the right of self determination.

Treaty of Westphalia {1648} recognised the undisputed sovereignty of secular rulers, it is the ruler right to determine state’s religion, treaty further recognised a state dominance and sovereignty.

¹¹ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-62.

¹² Vattel, a swiss wrote Laws of Nation and introduced the term Balance of Power.

¹³ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

¹⁴ Theory of international Affairs selected texts, p-103.

¹⁵ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, pp, 167-170.

¹⁶ Ibid, p-170

¹⁷ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-2.

¹⁸ N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957},p-13.

In the same time period India, Emperor Akbar was already assuming the same power and adopted the spirit of Westphalia in totality, although he was not present and it is doubtful if he ever heard the name Westphalia. He introduced a state religion in which he collected the best and non controversial acts and beliefs of all his subjects {Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian } with himself as the Emperor having a final word in any dispute.

Thus a state may be composed of many nations, but Hans Morgentau differs as in his opinion there cannot be many nations composing one state rather 'One Nation , one state'¹⁹. There are categories of states like, strong state, weak state, failed state, coherent state, multinational state {state comprising of two or more nations}, multi state nation { nation whose members live in two or more states}²⁰. ' A nation is a body of men inhabiting a definite territory who normally are driven from different races but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during course of a common history; who on the whole and in the main , through more in the past than in the present include in that common stock a common religious belief, who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings. Who besides common thoughts and feelings also cherish a common will and accordingly form or lead to form a separate state for the expression and realisation of that will'.²¹ This concept is bit further from what Ernest Renan stated in 1882, at Sorbonne

Sovereignty

No word is used in political science with greater meanings of word than sovereignty, 'few political conceptions have been the subject of so much discussion among us in last 100 years' Professor Methwin,²². It is often described as the supreme power over citizens and subjects without restrained by law.²³ Stated by **Jean Bodwin** {1530-1596}. To Grotius , it is ' that power whose actsmay not be made void by the acts of any other human will'.²⁴

Ideology

'It is a cluster of ideas about life, society or government which originate in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted. Social, political or religious slogans or battles cries and which through continuous usages and preachment gradually becomes the characteristics beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality'²⁵.

¹⁹ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-13. Stated by Hans Morgentau.

²⁰ Mark Armstutz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-31.

²¹ Ernest Baker in 1927, *Natioanl Character and factors in its formations*, N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-13.

²² Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25 also see Mark R.Armstutz Anthony, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999} p- 28

²³ Mark Armstutz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999}, p-28 also see Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25

²⁴ N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-26.

²⁵ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-82 as stated by Deotutt Le Tracy {1754-1836}

Morale on the other hand is defined, again it has many variations, 'is a thing made up of loyalty, courage, faith, dignity, sentiments for the known, fear and dislike of the unknown and self interest....healthy frame of mind, characterised by fidelity to a cause'.²⁶

War

Thus one of the major difference in understanding the **Nature of War** is in its justification and there are always two opinions that exists that is why nations or humans go to war. On the other hand apart from religious causes there are boundaries and Frontier disputes which have compelled the nations to exercise this option. This kind of disputes can be classified in four broad categories. In the first one there existed no regional boundary, neither delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty as well. The Anglo-Afghan wars 1839-1872 are the examples where there was no boundary between India and Afghanistan. It was finally agreed upon in 1893 under Durand Line agreement. In next category, there existed a boundary a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. The Third Anglo-Afghan war of 1919 is a classic example of this kind. Pakistan – India war of 1965 over Rann of Kutch is another glaring example of this kind. In the third category there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different treaties, China – India conflict of 1962 falls in this category. Last is the type where a mutually agreed delimitation exists but dispute is about the demarcation on ground.²⁷ Frontier dispute between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi, it was initially agreed upon between the Ottoman and Britain in 1914 but later Ibn Saud rejected it and issue erupted in 1949.

Boundary Disputes

The boundary disputes that have arisen in modern world can be divided into five distinct categories, First where there exists no recognised boundary whether delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty exists. Secondly, there exists a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. Third. There are those where there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different treaties. Lastly, a mutually agreed delimitation of the frontier exists but dispute is about demarcation on ground.²⁸

There are five methods through which a **nation can acquire territory** they are, occupation, prescription which is form of occupation which may occur through possession and administration for a certain length of time, cession again is one method of acquiring territory, however if the shape of frontier is changed due to natural process than again territory can be acquired this is known as accretion and last but not the least is the subjugation.

Methods to resolve a conflict are, war, bilateral negotiating, good offices {efforts of third party to resolve issue}, mediation which is request by both parties to a third party, arbitration and finally judicial settlement²⁹.

Laws of Nation.

There are three types of such laws, first is known as Voluntary Law, second is called Conventional law and customary law is the third category³⁰. As regarding the war, the consensus is

²⁶ H.E.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis* {London, 1946}, p-108.

²⁷ Evan Luard Edited, *The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute* {Thames, London, 1970} p-16.

²⁸ Frontier Dispute, p-16.

²⁹ Evan Luard Edited, *The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute* {Thames, London, 1970}, pp, 24-29

³⁰ Pierre Renouvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford 'Introduction to the History of international Relations { Praegon, London, 1967} p-110

‘Regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides’ and ‘Whatever is permitted to one because of state of war is also permitted to the other’.³¹

There exists two **models of statehood**, one known as **Machiavellian model** in which the sole aim is to enhance the power of a state irrespective of morality the second is known as **Statesman model** in which due regard is given to the law, justice and fact that one course which affects the good of majority is the most suitable.³²

Balance of Power, Henry Brougham {1778-1868} wrote an essay ‘constitution subscribing among neighbouring states more or less connected with one another by virtue of which no one among them can injure the independence or the essential rights of another without meeting with effectual resistance on some side and consequentially exposing itself to danger’.³³

Forms of National Power. Geography

Military power, Economic power and power over opinion are the various forms of national power, and geography is the element of national power³⁴. History is geography in motion was the main theme of professor Halford J. Mackinder’s famous paper which he read in 1904³⁵, Emperor Napoleon remarked ‘foreign policy of a nation is determined by its geography’³⁶.

Diplomatic Terms

Ranks of diplomat were recognised in Vienna 1815 which included counsellors of embassy, secretaries of an embassy divided into first, second and third and attaches which were naval, army and later air as well which were non career officers. Diplomat conducts the negotiations and counsellors look after the interest. Agreement is an approval given by other state on the nomination of an envoy, the procedure itself is called agreement. Letter of credence, is the diplomat’s formal commission, it is signed by the head of state. The very first known permanent mission was established at Genoa in 1455 by Duke of Milan.

Propaganda.

Any attempt to persuade persons to accept a certain point or to take a certain action. Its method and techniques differ, they include, method of presentation, techniques for giving better presentation. Devices for gaining response and methods of gaining acceptance.³⁷

Himalayan Frontiers.

China’s effort {600-900AD} were mainly against the Turkestan, the struggle was between the China and Tibet with buffer countries such as Baltistan being subject to one or the other depending upon the fortunes of war. Chinese armies assisting Baltistan chiefs reached Gilgit in 747 AD.³⁸ Later after the defeat of Chinese in the hands of Arabs, Baltistan came under Tibet. After the death of Kyidegun of Tibet in 930 AD, his empire was divided among his three sons, with eldest son having

³¹ Pierre Renouvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ‘Introduction to the History of international Relations { Praeger, London, 1967 } p-112.

³² Stanley Hoffman, ed, *Contemporary Theory in International Relations* { Prentice, New Jersey, 1960 } pp, 15-16

³³ Pierre Renouvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ‘Introduction to the History of international Relations { Praeger, London, 1967 }, p-281.

³⁴ H.E. Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis* { London, 1946 }, p-108.

³⁵ Halford Mackinder, *The Geographical pivot of History*, paper read at London, on 25th January 1904.

³⁶ H.E. Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis* { London, 1946 }, p-41

³⁷ ³⁷ N.D. Palmer & H.C. Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, { Stevens & Sons, London, 1957 }, p- 127

³⁸ Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan frontiers a political review of British, China, Russia and India rivalries*, { Crescent Press, London, 1969 } p-19.

Laddakh and soon he became independent. In 1339, Kashmir came under Islamic dynasty, emperor Aurangzeb visited Kashmir in 1663 and he ensured that king of Leh to accept Islam and built a mosque at Leh³⁹. Tibet had not altogether given up the Leh and Laddakh, a continuous war of attrition was fought between the two from 1639-1684, Moghuls came to the help of Laddakh, forcing Tibet to evict Leh and go back to Tashigong; in 1684, Treaty of Tinganosagng was signed.

Peloponnesian Wars

5th century BC, a war between the Athens and Sparta, after defeating the Persians, Athenians formed Delian League, comprising of some 20 city states, first Peloponnesian War 460-445 BC and second was from 431-404 BC.

Levels of Analysis

There are three types of analysis, first is the **individual**, which we all do, second is the analysis which is carried out at **state level** by the concerned authorities who see it from varying angles. A political party will observe the action of India in Kashmir from Pakistan political scenario, army will and is observing the Taliban offer of peace talks, Pakistan foreign office is monitoring the Ukrainian situation. The third level is that of **international organisations** analysis, for instance the G-8 action of suspending Russia's membership in the wake of the Crimean crisis are few of the examples. **Paradigm**, is an intellectual framework.

Realism, Idealism, Interdependence & Dependency

These are four major perspectives that have emerged out of the Post WWII. Realism highlights Pessimism, conflicted relations, Priority of power, Consequential ethics and above all priority or supermantra of state. E.F Carr, Hans Morgenthau, George F. Kennan and Niebuhr are few of the leading spokesmen for Realism. It revolves around the basic nature of man which earlier Greek philosophers have brought forward but it can be debatable as all men are not equal and as such their thinking perspective is different but seen collectively basing upon history, the realism revolves around the state. It focuses on foreign policy which in realist opinion should be judged by its consequence and not the motive {consequential ethics}. States have conflicted relations with other states, Pakistan cannot overlook its power requirement which can be fulfilled by Iran being closer rather than to forge friendship with Saudi Arabia, this is an example of conflicted relations. **Idealism**. On the other hand believes in optimism, harmonious international relations, priority of law and institutions and above all priority of moral purposes. Dante, Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter, Nelson Mandela and Gandhi are few of the prominent personalities which have belief in the idealism. Religion is also an idealistic belief but then all religions are not equal, Buddhism is a classical example of idealism and Islam a propagator of Realism. Western idealism is deep rooted in Christianity's beliefs.

Interdependency. An approach to the politics that emphasises the growing influence of transnational socio-economics co-operation and the role of non-state actors. It pays attention and highlights the rise of non state actors, with government no longer the only determinants of international relations. Functional cooperation is a priority, along with decline role of force. The NGOs role is important in this facet, for instance the 'landmine' was declared as inhuman by the late Lady Dianna and as such its use by any country would jeopardise the economic and public relation in other countries especially in UK. **Dependency** is opposite to interdependency and highlights the total reliance of a country on the other, It is based upon political economy of Marxism, weakness of state are related to its external conditions. It is quite interesting as UK is dependent upon other countries for

³⁹ Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan frontiers a political review of British, China, Russia and India rivalries*, {Crescent Press, London, 1969} p-20.

its raw material and food requirement, on the other hand countries like Burma are dependent upon foreign investment due to poor infra structures, Germany is dependent rather Europe is dependent upon Russian gas for warmth in winter season. In dependency theory stress is upon the tussle among rich and poor countries, priorities of economic relationship, priority of interdependence and impact of non state actors.

Rational Choice Theory

Neo Realism.

It is also known as structural realism, it highlights the impact of anarchy on state ‘ *states will seek to maximize national power in order to reduce their vulnerability and increase national capability to advance foreign policy interest*’⁴⁰. The fundamental change from past is in accepting the institutions of the state as the primary cause of all the actions rather than the individual. Emphasis is on the structure of the society and institutions as the key corner stone of the foreign policy.

Neo Liberalism

An idealist approach, optimistic about probability of peace and global cooperation, in their opinion the primary duty of state is to provide security and welfare⁴¹.

Indo-Pak Western Boundary Case Tribunal- Rann of Kutch border dispute,

Ceasefire took place on 30th June 1965 and award itself was given in 19th February 1968. Ceasefire came into effect at 0300 hours GMT , 1st July 1965. India claimed that there is no territorial dispute, the boundary runs along the northern edge of Rann of Kutch. Pakistan claims that the border runs along 24th Parallel , thus a dispute of 3500 square miles of territory. Joint communique of 24th October 1959 agreed to recourse to the tribunal for the determination of the border and decision of the tribunal shall be final and binding, a very unusual agreement between India and Pakistan but those were the times before the 1962 Sino Indian and 1965 Pak-India war. The tribunal which finally came into existence after 1965 War had the Judge Gunnar Lagergren as the chairman, India elected Ales Bebler a judge of the constitutional court of Yugoslavia and Pakistan picked Nasrullah Entezam an Iranian ambassador who had been the president of general assembly.

Pakistan stance was that before 15th August 1947, the territories of India as defined in sub section {1} of section 311 of the Government of India act of 1935, consist of British India, Indian states and tribal Areas , i.e; areas that were neither British India nor Indian States .

The tribunal had first meeting on 15th February 1966 at Geneva, in June –July 1966, Pakistan delegation visited New Delhi to have a look at the documents, oral hearing begun on 15th September 1966 and lasted till 14th July 1967. On 13th July 1967 both parties reached an agreement on the demarcation.

Cold War Interpretation 1946-1991

⁴⁰ Mark R.Armstrong, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-17.

⁴¹ Mark R.Armstrong, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-18.

Traditional , soviet Union is the culprit, a **revisionist** considers USA as the main culprit and **moderate** regards it as Great power Rivalry